

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY: AF:RJTIERNEY

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TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

FOR SEITZ-LONDON

FOLLOWING IS REPEAT CAPE TOWN 0093, SENT SECSTATE 23 JANUARY:

S E C R E T CAPE TOWN 0093

NODIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLELE FROM EDMONDSON

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR RH

SUBJ: RHODESIA: RICHARD'S TALK WITH SMITH, JAN. 21, 1977

REF: CAPE TOWN 0092

1. IVOR RICHARD SPENT OVER TWO HOURS WITH IAN SMITH,
ACCOMPANIED BY DAVID SMITH AND VAN DER BYL ON JANUARY 21.
THE MEETING WENT BETTER THAN RICHARD EXPECTED, AND THEY
AGREED TO MEET AGAIN JANUARY 24, BY WHICH TIME SMITH WILL
HAVE CONSULTED HIS CABINET. ALTHOUGH SMITH CONTINUED TO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 016421

INSIST THAT THE BRITISH PROPOSALS WERE UNACCEPTABLE IN MANY
RESPECTS, THEY HAD A DETAILED AND CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION
OF THE BRITISH PALER. HE MADE A NUMBER OF REASONABLE POINTS
WHICH RICHARD THOUGHT MIGHT BE ACCOMMODATED
THOUGH SOME OF
HIS OBJECTIONS WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR THE NATIONALISTS TO MEET.
RICHARD MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE BRITISH WERE NOT ASKING HIS

GOVERNMENT TO AGREE TO THE PROPOSALS AT THIS STAGE, BUT SIMPLY TO ACCEPT THEM AS A POSSIBLE BASIS FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATION.

2. THE RHODESIANS WERE VERY RELUCTANT TO ACCEPT AT FACE VALUE THE ASSURANCES WHICH THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS HAD GIVEN RICHARD, WHO SAID THAT THEIR (PRESUMABLY THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS') AGREEMENT WAS NECESSARY IF THE WAR WAS TO END, AND THAT THEY WOULD HAVE TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO ACCEPTING ANY AGREEMENT REACHED AT GENEVA ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT.

3. THE RHODESIANS ASKED WHETHER A SETTLEMENT WHICH BROUGHT THE WAR TO AN END; AND ENABLED SANCTIONS TO BE LIFTED; HAD TO BE BASED ON THE BRITISH PROPOSALS, AND AT ONE POINT ASKED FOR RICHARD'S VIEWS ON A REFERENDUM. THEY DID NOT SEEK TO DRAW RICHARD OUT ON THE "INTERNAL OPTION", HOWEVER, NOR DID THEY MENTION A TREATY.

4. SMITH COMPLAINED ABOUT THE PROPOSED COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ON TWO SCORES; FIRST THAT ROOM WAS BEING FOUND FOR NON-RF WHITES WHO HAD BEEN DEFEATED REGULARLY IN ELECTIONS, AND SECOND, THAT ON THE OTHER HAND THERE WAS NO PLACE FOR REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER IMPORTANT CURRENTS OF BLACK OPINION NOT INCLUDED AT GENEVA WHERE PARTICIPATION SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN ARRANGED AT THE BEHEST OF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS. RICHARD TOLD SMITH THAT THE EXACT COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WAS NEGOTIABLE, BUT THAT IF PARTICIPATION AT GENEVA WERE TO BE ALTERED, THE BRITISH MIGHT BE PRESSED TO REMOVE DELEGATIONS AS WELL AS TO ADD TO THEM. RICHARD MADE CLEAR
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 016421

THAT THE BRITISH WOULD INSIST THAT MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE REPRESENTED.

5. THE BRITISH PAPER WAS DISCUSSED IN DETAIL. THE RHODESIANS INTERPRETED PARAGRAPH 4(B) AS A BRITISH DECLARATION OF INTENT TO SCUTTLE IF FIGHTING CONTINUED DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD. OR IF THERE WAS INTERNAL TROUBLE. RICHARD REPLIED THAT IF THE AGREEMENTS ENTERED INTO AT GENEVA BROKE DOWN COMPLETELY, THIS WOULD BE INEVITABLE; BUT THAT THE PROPOSED BRITISH PRESENCE WAS POSTULATED UPON A CONTRACT ENTERED INTO BY ALL PARTIES, AS IN PARAGRAPH 4(A) OF THE PAPER.

6. THE RHODESIANS COMPLAINED THAT THE PROVISIONS IN KISSINGER'S PROPOSALS FOR PARITY IN THE COUNCIL OF STATE HAD BEEN ABANDONED, AND THAT THEY WOULD BE HEAVILY OUTVOTED IN THE ADVISORY COUNCIL. RICHARD SAID THAT THE ADVISORY COUNCIL WOULD NOT HAVE THE SAME FUNCTIONS.

7. IN A LENGTHY DISCUSSION ABOUT PARAGRAPHS 5 (5) AND 5 (6)

OF THE BRITISH PAPER, THE RHODESIANS ARGUED THAT THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WOULD BE OBLIGED TO ASSENT TO ANY MEASURES PASSED BY THE BLACK MAJORITY IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WHICH DID NOT INVOLVE HIS RESERVE POWERS. ONE EXAMPLE GIVEN WAS AMENDMENT OF THE PUBLIC SERVICES ACT. RICHARD SAID THAT HE ENVISAGED A SERIES OF ASSURANCES INCORPORATED INTO THE AGREEMENTS EVZNTUALLY REACHED AT GENEVA WHEREBY THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT, OF THE ADMINISTRATION, AND OF THE JUDICIARY WOULD REMAIN ESSENTIALLY UNCHANGED DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD. IN PARAGRAPH 5 (9) THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WOULD HAVE RESIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME FOR INDEPENDENCE, BY WHICH THE BRITISH MEANT THAT HE WOULD ACT AS GUARANTOR OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS. THE BRITISH PLAN ALSO ENVISAGED THAT EXISTING RHODESIAN LAWS WOULD IN GENERAL BE VALIDATED BY ACT OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT. RICHARD ADDED THAT THE DEFINITION OF WHAT WERE NORMAL AND WHAT WERE IMPORTANT MATTERS COULD WELL BE SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 016421

A MATTER FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATION.

8. UNDER PARAGRAPH 5 (8) OF THE PAPER, THE RHODESIANS OBJECTED THAT IF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER DID NOT ORDINARILY ATTEND THE MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, THE LATTER MIGHT PASS DECREES WHICH INFRINGED UPON HIS RESERVE POWERS, E.G. IN THE FIELD OF SECURITY. RICHARD MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE SAW THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AS AN AUTONOMOUS BODY, WHICH THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS COULD NOT OVER-RULE IN THE EXERCISE OF ITS RESPONSIBILITIES FOR DEFENCE AND LAW AND ORDER, BUT HE AGREED THAT MORE PRECISE DRAFTING MIGHT BE REQUIRED.

9. THE RHODESIANS' CHIEF OBJECTION WAS TO PARAGRAPH 5 (13). THEY SAID THAT KISSINGER HAD ASSURED THEM IN PRETORIA THAT THE EXISTING MAIN STRUCTURE OF THE RHODESIAN ARMY WOULD BE RETAINED, AND THAT THIS FORMED PART OF THE PRETORIA AGREEMENT. SMITH SAID THAT HE HAD NO CONTROL OVER APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMED FORCES, WHICH WAS A MATTER FOR THE PUBLIC SERVICES BOARD. HE ACCEPTED THAT THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE CHANGES AFTER INDEPENDENCE, BUT THE WHOLE PURPOSE OF PRETORIA HAD BEEN TO MAINTAIN THE STATUS QUO IN ORDER TO GIVE SECURITY TO THE WHITES AND TO ALLOW TIME FOR THE TRAINING OF AFRICAN OFFICERS. BRITAIN'S SUGGESTION THAT THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER SHOULD BE EMPOWERED TO HIRE AND FIRE SENIOR OFFICERS WOULD CAUSE A BREAK-DOWN IN WHITE MORALE. HE ALSO ATTACKED THE CONCEPT OF INTEGRATION OF THE RHODESIAN ARMY AND THE GUERRILLA FORCES. RICHARD REPLIED THAT THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, ON WHICH THERE WOULD BE A WHITE MAJORITY, WAS DESIGNED TO SAFEGUARD WHITE INTERESTS, AND THAT THE HARD CORE OF GUERRILLAS WHO MIGHT REMAIN AFTER AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN SET UP MUST BE BROUGHT UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. SMITH WAS NOT CONVINCED, AND IT WAS

CLEAR THAT THESE ISSUES ARE LIKELY TO CAUSE GREAT DIFFICULTY
IN FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS.

10# REICHARD REASSURED DAVID SMITH THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE
TRUST FUND WAS EXACTLY AS IT HAD BEEN LAST AUTUMN, THOUGH
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 016421

THERE MIGHT HAVE TO BE SOME MINOR AMENDMENTS TO THE DETAILS,
E.G. TO PROVIDE FOR REPRESENTATION OF MAJOR DONORS ON THE
BOARD OF TRUSTEES. THE RHODESIANS SEEMED CONTENT. THEY
SAID THAT THERE MUST BE RHODESIAN REPRESENTATION ON THE BOARD
OF TRUSTEES, AND ASKED A NUMBER OF DETAILED QUESTIONS ABOUT
PENSION FUNDS HELD BY MUNICIPALITIES AND THE POSSIBILITY OF
ADMINISTERING THE FUND FROM SWITZERLAND.

11. THE RHODESIANS ASKED ABOUT CITIZENSHIP AND ALSO INDICATED
THAT THEY WANT THE CONFERENCE TO BE TRANSFERRED EITHER TO
RHODESIA OR TO BRITAIN. RICHARD EXPLAINED THE DIFFICULTIES.
SMITH SAID HE MIGHT BE ABLE TO ALLOW MUGABE AND SITHOLE INTO
RHODESIA TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE, THOUGH OUTSIDE SALISBURY.

12. RICHARD CONCLUDED WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT SMITH WILL
NOT REJECT THE BRITISH PROPOSALS OUT OF HAND, BUT THAT HE
WILL SAY THAT IN ORDER TO PERSUADE WHITE RHODESIANS TO ACCEPT
THEM THERE WILL HAVE TO BE SUBSTANTIAL ADDITIONS TO AND
AMENDMENTS OF THEM. HE MAY WELL SUGGEST EARLY DISCUSSIONS
TO IDENTIFY AREAS WHERE ADDITIONAL ASSURANCES COULD BE PROVIDED
SO THAT THE STATUS QUO WILL NOT BE OVERTURNED, AS OPPOSED TO
MODIFIED, DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD. IT IS ALSO STILL POSSIBLE
THAT HE WILL PUT FORWARD COUNTER PROPOSALS BASED ON HIS
INTERNAL OPTION. UNQUOTE. BOWDLER UNQTE. VANCE

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